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The Value of President Wilson's Ability to Change His Mind.

There is nothing more fascinating, there is little that is more instructive than the study of the intimate workings of a mind like Woodrow Wilson's. The material is fortunately ample. So considerable is the volume of his writings and speeches, uttered both before he became President and since that event, and so remarkable is his gift of clear expression that he is to-day in possession of a past not only of his philosophy of leadership but also of the psychology of his purposes and methods. His mental processes have been described by nobody with more frankness than by himself. After he has been dead a thousand years any intelligent historian will be able to reconstruct from the printed record a living likeness. His moral and intellectual autobiography is already written. Few of the great statesmen of the period have done the job as completely as he has done it.

The flexibility of opinion which is characteristic of President Wilson—as it was of THOMAS JEFFERSON and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN and many other statesmen and publicists of the past—is something which he has candidly and even proudly recognized in his estimates of himself. Over and over again he has called the attention of his fellow citizens to this quality of the instrument with which he is doing his work for the country and the world. It has been with him a favorite theme of semi-serious, semi-humorous confession in the addresses in which he has endeavored to establish the relationship of homely human sympathy with auditors and admirers naturally inclined to look upward in contemplating him, rather than across to him on a level line.

Two or three examples: "The man who cannot change his mind," said Mr. Wilson to the New York commission merchants about two months after his first election to the Presidency, "the man who cannot change his mind gives evidence of profound ignorance." Again: "If your mind doesn't change when the world changes you are no longer in harmony with the world." Again: "I am willing to leave things alone if you will guarantee that I can go to bed and find them the same in the morning." Again, to an applauding audience the President said: "The minute I stop changing my mind as President with the change of all the circumstances in the world I will be a back number."

But Mr. Wilson has gone even further than this in explaining the philosophy of the usefulness, the practical necessity of changes of mind to correspond with changes in the situation with which the mind is dealing. His view of the interpretative function of political leadership has been expressed in many such passages as this: "The engineer of human affairs and fortunes is the sympathetic interpreter of existing affairs and fortunes." And this: "The business of every leader of government is to hear what the nation is saying and to know what the nation is enduring." The thought behind these aphorisms obviously is that changes of mind regarding policy or administrative conduct may properly be induced not merely by personal observation of the changing facts concerned, but also as the result of observation and interpretation of changing sentiment in the nation. There could be no sounder theory of representative leadership than this.

There may be a time when a change of mind about the competency of individuals selected by himself for the service of the country in time of war will be the highest of patriotic duties; and when a President's ability to change his mind for the sake of success will be one of the most valuable of his qualifications for supreme command.

Germany's Warning to Neutrals.

The State Department at Washington lately received from Spain a publication setting forth the accomplishments of the German army. It is printed in Spanish and is widely distributed in Spain by German propaganda. The intention evidently was that the Latin American coun-

tries should also profit by the information which it contained and would accept it, in that spirit of Hunanish kindness with which it was published, as "a most useful warning to neutral countries."

The information is given with such a thorough regard for details as to make it a most complete exposition of the pillaging of Belgium. Besides various other art treasures, private and public galleries yielded old paintings valued at \$800,000. The number of embroideries and women's handkerchiefs taken is 15,812; of high grade watches, 147; average watches, 5,016, and umbrellas and parasols, 3,708. A painstaking tabulation that is a monument to Prussian efficiency! The Belgians must have been careful with their silver spoons, for in the bag of loot there were only 1,570. The yield in champagne was better, 523,000 bottles.

On account of the "treachery" of Cardinal Mercier and other priests who did their utmost to stir up the people against the German soldiers, Germany was forced to destroy four cathedrals and twenty-seven churches, besides rendering unserviceable forty-two other religious buildings. Comparing this estimate with the estimate made by impartial investigators from neutral nations at the time of the Belgian invasion the Germans understate their accomplishments.

The amount exacted from "rich individuals and wealthy cities" in punishments, security, reprisals and in forced contributions is placed at 120,071,350 pesetas, or approximately \$20,000,000. In this amount, however, should be counted \$3,000 in fines imposed upon Alsatian children for insisting upon speaking the French language. The remainder was the price that the Belgian people paid for their "stupid stubbornness in continuing the struggle after bloody and final defeat on the battlefield."

Let Spain take warning! And all other neutrals, "if there are any still thinking of siding with the Allies, let them take warning from the fate of the others." Could anything be more noble and chivalrous in a nation than this act of warning? The accompanying record of sordid exactions and petty thefts are mere incidents of war as Germany understands it. Giving warning is a benevolence practiced by German diplomacy. Did not Bismarck warn Americans against sailing on the Lusitania? The trouble was that the "bismarckian Yankees" did not appreciate it. And there may still be other "bismarckian" neutrals left in the world.

The Entrance of Women Upon District Politics.

The outstanding difference between the Republican women Assembly district leaders and the women members of the executive committee of Tammany Hall appears to be that while the Republican county committee saw fit to reward suffrage workers with leadership Mr. MURPHY's organization took no particular cognizance of the soldiers in the battle for woman's political freedom. We do not say that the coldness of the Fourteenth street were not in favor of equal suffrage, but only that they were not prominent in the struggle for it. Tammany was lukewarm toward votes for women, but too wise to move, openly or secretly, against it. On this island suffrage had 15,000 more friends than Mr. HYLAX had, as the returns of the last election clearly showed.

The Republican coldness, or many of them, have had valuable political experience in their work for suffrage. The Tammany coldness, on the other hand, appear also to be practical women, many of them the wives of men active in district politics. It is evident that they were chosen not because of any identification with the cause of suffrage but because the men leaders of the districts believed them to be the most useful women the organization could have—not in the councils of Fourteenth Street, for Mr. Murphy is autocratic, but in the districts. It is there that Tammany wins its battles. To ignore the power of the district leaders has been a common mistake of Tammany's opponents; to appoint them to office the commonest mistake of Tammany itself. The male district leader, with all his faults, has been a power on one day in November because he worked at his job the 364 other days. Dr. CHARLES A. BEARD, who has made a study of practical politics as professor of politics in Columbia University and as director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, said last Wednesday at the city conference of charities and correction:

"In New York city Tammany Hall is our greatest social service agency and it holds its power because it understands sympathetically the needs and trials of the masses."

Tammany's district leaders visit those who are ill and in prison. Indeed, they help to keep out of prison many who have committed trivial offenses, and I would rather take the word of a district leader as to a minor offender than that of a probation officer. They ask no questions and give out no pink and green cards. A district leader's hours are not from 10 to 4, but continuous."

That is why Tammany Hall intermittently gets into office. Professor BEARD did not add the reasons, as another speaker remarked, why Tammany gets out. They are too obvious to need relation. The point that Professor BEARD evidently wished to make was that Tammany does well a great number of human and meritorious things that make its people forget its black enormities.

The addition of women leaders is not going to weaken Tammany Hall; quite the opposite. It is the very sympathy of women with the benevo-

lent side of Tammany that has made the organization powerful. When Tammany has been defeated at the polls it usually has been after the revelations of its other and darker side have sickened the women.

What lesson, if any, do the women leaders of the Republican party—the dominant party of the State and the party of fusion in the city—need to take from what is well known about Tammany's way of winning? We assume that the suffragists who have entered the councils of Republicanism will have no delusions, as the men leaders sometimes have displayed, about the importance of district activities. Tammany Hall has found victory in personal attention to the individual needs, in impressing upon the voter and his family that the organization leader was their friend, errand boy and banker. The secret of the district leader's success is work. Any party of men and women that would be willing to work as hard as Tammany works—in office or out—and that would be honest once it got in office—that party would put Tammany Hall aside forever.

Republicans everywhere seem eager to welcome woman and her political strength. The chairman of the Political National Committee, Mr. Wm. H. HAYS, wisely concludes that in each State the men and women must decide the best programme for mutual success; and he adds:

"Everything should be centered upon the advancement of the Government by the bettering of the laws and principles under which we live."

All very well, but in this town the wise politician will consider not only the betterment of laws and principles but the condition of the Leviathan child that has the messes, the scarcity of coal in the Kelly cellar and the burning desire of JIMMY SMITH to be taken to a picnic.

A Good Police Force on View.

As a spectacle the police parade is always interesting, and yesterday's display suffered in no way in comparison with those of former years. The men made their customary good appearance, their welcome was enthusiastic, as it should have been, and the unshaken confidence of New York in the guardians of its domestic peace was demonstrated in the usual manner. It is difficult to say which is more impressive, the desire of the public to have a trustworthy, honorable force, or the evident ambition of the men in the force to gratify that desire. Only the injection of politics from above can thwart the city's obvious eagerness in this matter, and that disaster must be averted.

Under new and trying conditions the police have made an excellent record since Europe went to war, and more strikingly, since the United States entered the struggle. Delicate problems involving the repression of racial passions, the maintenance of order in trying situations, the felling of enemy plots, have been solved, and confidential inquiries of supreme national importance have been conducted. The capacity of the New York police has been proved by the drafts that have been made on it by the Government, which has taken some of its most expert members, without, however, seriously impairing its ability to meet the emergencies that it faces daily.

Not only is the annual parade interesting as a spectacle; it serves a useful and instructive purpose. In it are recorded the various advances made in police administration from year to year. Motor vehicles have replaced those drawn by horses; the improved discipline is shown in a better ordered column; this year a number of police women and auxiliaries had places in the line. The city is ready to experiment, to try novelties, to assume responsibility for innovations, in the hope that they may be productive of good. It is THE SUN's opinion that the women in the department will eventually prove highly useful. They will find their sphere and fill it, increasing our comfort and safety measurably. The creation of a volunteer force of men to cooperate with the regular police has already justified itself. Naturally, such experiments involve mistakes, but these have been comparatively few.

We are proud of the police, and their record shows that our pride is well based.

More Latin American States in the War.

Germany professes to treat the entrance of Nicaragua into the war with contempt. This small Central American country, the twentieth nation to align itself as an active foe of the Central Powers, issued its declaration of hostilities a few days after Guatemala had announced a similar action.

According to German expressions the declarations of both these states were due to pressure brought to bear upon them by the United States. If the Berlin Government really believes this, it is because this is the method it would have pursued under the same circumstances. German agencies have been particularly active in both Nicaragua and Guatemala. Wealthy Teutons, owners of plantations and forest rights, or representatives of German and Austrian concerns, have ever since the beginning of the war striven either to force these two states to aid the Central Powers or to secure their favorable neutrality.

The United States made no effort through political or economic pressure to bring either Nicaragua or Guatemala over to an active support of the Allied cause. That they withstood the insidious German propaganda is an evidence of their sin-

cerity. It is gratifying to the United States that they accepted on their own volition the stand taken by this country. It is an indication of the increasing solidarity of the nations of the Western World.

Germany is not in position to treat with contempt any nation that joins the ranks of her enemies, whether the aid it can furnish be in armies or in sympathy. It would be better that she should recognize the steadily growing hostility to her ruthless methods and militaristic ambitions, a hostility that will eventually make necessary the alignment against her of the free peoples of the world in ardent sympathy if not in fact.

Bannwart's Suit Against the Athletics Senator From Massachusetts.

We should like to know the history of the amusing legal action begun by one ALEXANDER BANNWART, recently of Dorchester, Mass., and now apparently of Boston, who seeks to recover \$20,000 damages from the senior Senator from Massachusetts on account of an assault alleged to have been committed on him by Senator LOOSE on April 2, 1917.

The facts of the altercation are fresh in mind. BANNWART, a graduate of Princeton and a former baseball player, is a native of Switzerland, born of Swiss German parents. He was one of a number of pacifists who invaded Washington on the date mentioned to influence Congress against recognizing the state of war Germany had thrust upon the United States. With others he got to Senator LOOSE's office. According to Senator LOOSE and his colleague, Senator WEEKS, BANNWART not only called Mr. LOOSE a "damned coward" but made an effort to strike him.

If BANNWART tried to hit the Senator the blow did not land. Mr. LOOSE countered with the obvious remark that BANNWART was a liar, and floored him with a punch to the jaw highly creditable to a gentleman 67 years old, who had recently recovered from a severe illness. BANNWART was subsequently locked up, bailed, arraigned in court and discharged on Senator LOOSE's refusal to prosecute him and his own statement that he had been converted from pacifism by the President's address. Subsequently BANNWART was reported as enlisting in the army or the navy or the marines, and those who chose to think about him at all concluded that Senator LOOSE had knocked some sense into him.

In consequence of this record it will be interesting to learn more of the genesis of the lawsuit.

Meanwhile, how is the production of airplanes coming on?

The cathedral which possesses the most Gothic nave in existence so far has escaped serious damage, but any moment may see irreparable injury done it, as projectiles continue to fall all around it. The news from Amiens.

What do Hun knaves care for Gothic nave?

The riveters are giving the statisticians a lot of trouble. The knights of the pneumatic hammer break a record every day, and the registrars of their prowess don't get a chance to rest their fountain pen. Greet Foreman Jack, Consul of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation's Harlan plant, who drove 3,085 rivets in nine hours. He belongs in the honorable company of those who waste no time minding other people's business, but does his own job as well as he can.

Russian peasants, it is explained, will only accept American notes in payment for their produce.—Central News.

Is this "the illiterate Russian peasant?"

Editor N. A. MOKREZEL calls to our attention the fact that his paper Al Hoda, printed in this city in Arabic, has been called anti-Alex and pro-German. He says that subscribers in Abyssinia, Australia and Togoland, Africa, have been deceived by the title of their paper. Mr. MOKREZEL says that he was twice condemned to death by the Turkish Government on account of his outspoken denunciation of its uncivilized practices and that it would be impossible for him to support a cause which he abhors as he does the Turkish-Turkic cause. The reason that his paper was barred from delivery, he believes, is that in the same wrappers were found copies of Taine and other Turkish newspapers. This he considers a cunningly devised scheme of German and Turkish officials to defeat "the exposition through Al Hoda of their perfidy and treachery among the Arabic speaking people." Mr. MOKREZEL says he has suffered financial loss, but that is not the chief consideration. He asks that he shall be vindicated in his good character.

He shall be blotted forever from my name the stigma of being a pro-Turk or a pro-German, while I am every day by the written and spoken word sparing that class no form of condemnation.

General CARRY promoted for his acts in Picardy.—Newspaper headline.

It was CARRY who scratched together a force and stayed the German advance when Goutin's army retired; and among his improvised fighters were many Americans, including those astonishing engineers who build railroads all day and fight battles all night. Thus his promotion has a deep interest for us, aside from what attaches to every honor won on the battlefield.

This is Mother's Day, an excellent day, as everybody who is worthy of a mother will acknowledge.

An Ostrich Worm Turns.

Liberty correspondence reports a dramatic new idea for you. If we write what pleases people, it is our duty and we deserve no credit. If we write what displeases us, we are a group. If we write up the news as it actually is, we call you over the phone and tell us to cut it out. Yes, indeed, writing items is a pleasant business—we like it.

Arkansas Holds Its Own.

From the Green County Observer.

We have had no births, no deaths or sudden weddings the last week, nor any unbecoming divorces.

MOTHER'S DAY.

This is a Chance to Cheer Some Soldier's Best and Oldest Girl.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: Mother's Day this year assumes great significance and importance that it has in any year since the founding of the city by Mrs. Anna Jarvis of Philadelphia. Those who have been separated from their homes by the exigencies of war realize now as never before that the loving care of their mothers is something to be desired and cherished.

We know that there was held at Paris some months ago an allied conference of the utmost importance, at which the best of military counsel was available, and we were led to believe that perfect accord was reached in a comprehensive plan of subsequent action. Since that time the united action of the armies of the allied nations has been accomplished by the appointment of General Foch. Presumably, therefore, the recent conduct of the war must represent on the part of the Allies the deliberate intent in the expected event of German attack.

What have we witnessed? Apparently a desperate struggle of the French and British merely to save themselves from immediate and serious defeat. Driven from pillar to post, the fragile line of their defense has seemed week after week on the point of being broken, and day after day we have dreaded the news that the line had broken, that the Germans were sweeping victoriously upon Paris, and that the British were about to be driven to the sea. Nothing could have seemed less like an effective execution of well conceived plans for crushing the German army, and yet, knowing that this offensive was anticipated, we must infer that supposedly adequate preparation was made to meet it, and that what has occurred represents in some manner the best solution of the general problem of the war of which the allied nations are capable.

THE SPY'S FATE.

New Legislation Not Needed to Court-martial Him.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: A misapprehension, which has been widely spread, is that the President's recent letter to Senator Overman on the court-martial bill. In this country, ever since 1862, all spies are legally and properly triable by court-martial.

The Articles of War in Article 33 say: "Any person who, in time of war, shall be found lurking or acting as a spy in or about any of the fortifications, posts, quarters or encampments of any of the armies of the United States or elsewhere shall be tried by a general court-martial or by a military commission of five or more members, and, on conviction thereof, suffer death."

Article 5 of the navy says: "All persons who, in time of war, or of rebellion against the supreme authority of the United States, come or are found in the capacity of spies, or who bring or deliver to the enemy, or endeavor to bring from an enemy or rebel, or endeavor to corrupt any person in the navy to betray his trust, shall suffer death or such other punishment as a court-martial may adjudge."

Articles of War, Article 31, say: "Whoever commits treason by harboring, protecting or holding correspondence with or gives intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a court-martial or military commission may direct." (4 U. S. Compiled Statutes (1916) 2398a, and 2468.)

It is also but a truism to point out that during a national war with any first class Power the Federal Constitution does not work to the benefit of the public enemy, of spies or of enemy sympathizers, whether native or foreign.

The court-martial is in point. The action of Governor Peabody (1904) in Colorado in the Moyer case is also in point; the South African case (1915) likewise, as also the cases there in 1901 of Marais and in 1904 of Reenen. The Gendin case (1914) in New Zealand and the case of Watters (1916) in Australia and the East India case of Bedrechund in 1915 are also pertinent examples.

The point which was decided in the Milligan case was that in 1864-65 there was no statute authorizing the trial of traitors or seditionists by court-martial, and that the question was either involved or decided.

Why is it that at every turn the advisers and assistants of the President exert their influence to minimize instead of to expand the powers of the Government to protect the country? Tammany and his associates appear to be present on every occasion on which a courageous resolution would aid effective war and an early victory.

HENRY A. FORSTER.

Member American Defense Society.

New York, May 11.

The War in Defence of Civilization.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: The name, "The War for Old Democracy," suggests on my suggestion, "The War in Defence of Civilization." It is not an amendment, but a rejection and substitution. The difference is essential and fundamental.

In his phrase the implication is of aggression, of the crime of resistance to law-defiant aggression. His is offensive, mine is defensive.

"The War in Defence of Civilization" places the burden fairly upon German barbarism. To qualify it even so far as to label civilization as "democratic" were practically to concede to the enemy the right to overrun an unlimited area at a proportionate cost there would remain at the end of the struggle no German nation to reap the reward of its territorial victory.

The civilized Powers undertook the war as an aggressive defence against the reverts to savagery, the apostles and dupes of militant politics as Right, the plotters against the peace of mankind. "The War in Defence of Civilization" there is a sting in that for the barbarian Power!

I do not believe the year 1918 will begin before we shall be joyously able to call it "The Year of the Peace." Successful War in Defence of Civilization.

EDWARD N. TEALL.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 10.

The Spartan Mothers.

The mothers of the crowded towns, The mothers of the farms, They sit alone with patient eyes And every loving arm.

The flag upon the mast they see, In haste have buckled on The stern accoutrements of war, And with their blessings gone.

To one her son will come again, A bearded soldier bold, The flag upon the mast they see, Of shining bronze or gold.

And one will hear a halting cry, Uncertainly advance, And find her joy in leading him, Who left his eyes in France.

But one will never see her boy, A mother's heart will break, And tread the garden path between The lilacs wet with rain.

His picture framed in gilt below, A letter, or a battered sword, Or medal will be all.

The Spartan mothers—not a one Regrets the glorious hour Her darling marched away to break The Kaiser's evil power.

"Would that I had," they proudly cry, "That generations yet unborn In safety may live!" Mirna Irving.

THE ALLIES' STRATEGY.

A Comforting Interpretation of the German Spring Offensive.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: As the latest German offensive on the western front seemingly marks its end in a substantial defeat of the enemy's purpose, speculation regarding the true significance of the recent events perhaps may be permissible. Will you not allow me, therefore, to offer an interpretation of them quite widely at variance with the common understanding?

We know that there was held at Paris some months ago an allied conference of the utmost importance, at which the best of military counsel was available, and we were led to believe that perfect accord was reached in a comprehensive plan of subsequent action. Since that time the united action of the armies of the allied nations has been accomplished by the appointment of General Foch. Presumably, therefore, the recent conduct of the war must represent on the part of the Allies the deliberate intent in the expected event of German attack.

What have we witnessed? Apparently a desperate struggle of the French and British merely to save themselves from immediate and serious defeat. Driven from pillar to post, the fragile line of their defense has seemed week after week on the point of being broken, and day after day we have dreaded the news that the line had broken, that the Germans were sweeping victoriously upon Paris, and that the British were about to be driven to the sea. Nothing could have seemed less like an effective execution of well conceived plans for crushing the German army, and yet, knowing that this offensive was anticipated, we must infer that supposedly adequate preparation was made to meet it, and that what has occurred represents in some manner the best solution of the general problem of the war of which the allied nations are capable.

Last summer the allied armies were able at all times fairly to drown the German forces beneath a superior shell fire. During the preceding season of 1918 their resources in guns and ammunition had been thrown into the scale, and, throughout 1917 continued to increase by leaps and bounds. All through the latter year it appeared that the Allies were competent at will to overcome the enemy's resistance in any chosen district, and the extent to which the Allies were enabled to do this by the excessive labor required to advance their military establishment over larger areas of occupied territory.

Since that time Germany has augmented her man power along the western front, but not, as we understand, in overwhelming numbers. In other words, the German gain is supposed not to have been considerable. The production of the Allies, however, have been increased very largely, and their former superiority in guns and ammunition must be assumed to have become even greater than it was at the end of 1917. Appearances along the battle front, therefore, can be no doubt that as a whole the allied advantage in destructive strength is more pronounced now than it has been at any time in the past.

In these circumstances, while the Germans have thrown division after division into the present drive, calling upon their reserves repeatedly, and, as reported, to the inclusion of practically all their available forces, we have been informed from beginning to end that the allied reserves have been kept largely in the line, and have not been accepted as stated, substantially, the utmost possible concentration of attack has been opposed by the thinnest feasible line of defence, a line so weak in parts that the danger of its breaking may be supposed perhaps quite as real as it has been in the past.

With abundant means to stem the German tide, a losing battle has been fought through an extensive retreat, and the risk of an utter defeat has been deliberately incurred.

What are we to think of a plan of campaign such as this, as a striking outcome of a momentous council of war which we were led to believe pre-arranged decided improvement in the conduct of allied military affairs? Must we not regard it as constituting either a case of the most incompetent management, or a case of deliberate deception, or, since no threatened disaster has resulted, as an example of strategy of such exceptional daring and splendid execution as to amount to genius of the highest order?

I venture the prediction that future events will prove the latter assumption to be the correct one. However frequently attained, the allied line has not in fact broken. The country abandoned has been chiefly a devastated waste of former battle ground, of no use or real importance to the enemy. The guns and munitions have been concentrated in sufficient in quantity seriously to affect the allied resources. And, most vital consideration of all, the losses of German man power are estimated at all the way from two to four times those of the Allies. It is evident that if it were practically possible to concentrate the enemy to overrun an unlimited area at a proportionate cost there would remain at the end of the struggle no German nation to reap the reward of its territorial victory.

The conclusion I draw is that the Allies have been deliberately successful in leading Germany to play their own game. With the thinnest possible defence as a bait, they have lured the Germans forward week after week to wholesale slaughter. With a disposal of their reserves so genuinely indicative of weakness as to weary to the enemy accounts realistic observers, and the unbroken disruption they have encouraged their opponents to prolong the period of slaughter to the utmost. The entire programme of resistance carried to or perhaps even beyond the limit of safety in deficient numbers would appear to have been designed with consummate skill to the end of inducing Germany to accomplish upon her own initiative the largest possible measure of her own ultimate destruction at the least possible cost to her destroyers.

And the genius of this strategy, if the interpretation be correct, lies in the perfect verisimilitude of its deception. In the convincing reality of the allied pretension. Over a hundred miles of battle front and through weeks of fighting an appearance of imminent disaster has been maintained with such fidelity that not only the Germans but possibly also the most critical observers within the allied lines have been deluded into accepting the appearance as the fact.

If future developments shall confirm this understanding of the recent events, the masterly conduct of the present extraordinary campaign of illusory defeat may be estimated by its dimensions in space and time, by the sheer magnificence of the scale on which a hazardous and so difficult and dangerous has been ventured and won. Surely the leaders who originated so daring a project of deceptive manoeuvre and the executive officers who put it so con-

WHY THE REFORM JEW CANNOT ADMIT ZIONISM TO BE A FACT.

An American Protest Against the Plan of Independent Statehood for Palestine.

From Jewish Comment, Baltimore, May 8.

We cannot admit as a fact anything which does not exist and to which we are opposed in principle, even though its advocates would like to have the world accept it as a fact.

The mere resettlement of Palestine by a large number of Jews would not make Zionism a fact unless the right of independent statehood were granted to these Jews, and this is very far from realization. As a Jewish American, I sincerely hope that it will never be attempted for the sake of the Jew himself. To call Palestine the "homeland" of the Jew is the worst kind of anachronism; we might far better speak of Babylonia as our homeland, for Abraham emigrated thence. It certainly would be no homeland for any real American, Englishman, Frenchman, Italian, Russian or German, even though they are of the Jewish faith. I would certainly feel far less at home there than in the United States.

I know that not only every layman but also every rabbi who does not accept Zionism has been read out of the ranks and the pulpit, even by one who has no religious services on the Jewish Sabbath, and is therefore fully authorized to pronounce anathema upon his colleagues. I would not attack the Jewishness of any man, but I would attack the pulpits who claim to be a Jew and is trying to do Jewish work, but I am not a Zionist. Nor would I brand as time servers those who differ from me and claim that they are Zionists because they wish to court favor with a few Jewish millionaires.

More than one Zionist is only too happy to proclaim the conversion of some wealthy individual to Zionism, and it has been said (tell it not in New York, the modern Gath) that no poor man has been elected president of a congregation who has not been converted to Zionism with regard to wealth or station.

But a real principle—namely, many principles—are at stake in Zionism, and we Jewish Americans must not for a moment allow our ideals to be smothered or obscured even by the most efficient of means.

We agree with the non-Jews who state that there cannot be a double national fealty. A man or woman is either American or something else, and if a Jewish state were ever founded in Palestine, a Jewish citizen established would not be a Jew at one moment as to where his fealty belongs; it would be as it is to the United States of America. But I need not froth at the mouth over it, for that ought to be the natural presumption as to every individual who is born here and who has become a citizen of this country.

There are some who claim to be Reform Jews and yet are Zionists. In most cases it will be found upon investigation of the personal history that they are descended from Russian Jews, and "Return to Zion" (the name of the Jewish immigrants) who lived under such conditions that any realization of the romantic fancy of Orthodox Judaism seemed a wondrous hope to them, or that they came from Orthodox ranks, where the hope of the personal redemption of the Jewish people was ingrained. There are one or two exceptions—men of high idealism, most romantic by nature, who welcomed this dream as something beautiful—if it could be made true.

There are modern Jews, with the modern outlook, whether it be Claude Montefiore in England and others like him there and in France, Germany and the United States, or others who we might name, see a great danger to the Jew all over the world in Zionism if it be made a fact.

To all of us Judaism is a religion, and the Jewish people are a people, and times proved its elasticity and adaptability to its environment or it could not have survived. It is a law accepted generally by biologists that only that plant or animal which does adapt itself to the changes of environment can survive and increase. We know that Judaism has been influenced by its environment and, while yielding no essential, has accommodated itself to necessary external changes. We believe that Judaism did not end with the Bible, but only with the Jewish people, and that it emerged from the narrowness of Palestine and spread over the world.

Moses Maimonides is to-day cited as a great Orthodox authority, but no scholar need be reminded of the opposition which he encountered in his day. He found it necessary to increase to the inquiring young minds of his

contemporaries and successfully in effect to rank high indeed among the great figures of military history. And if the suspicion be justified that experts of our own were largely responsible for the essential features of this plan, America will may be proud of her contribution to the strategy of the war.

FRED METCALF.

PLAINFIELD, N. J., May 11.

TYPEWRITER CARE.

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